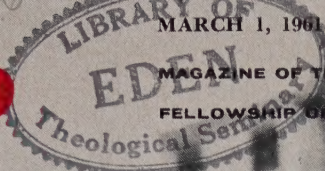
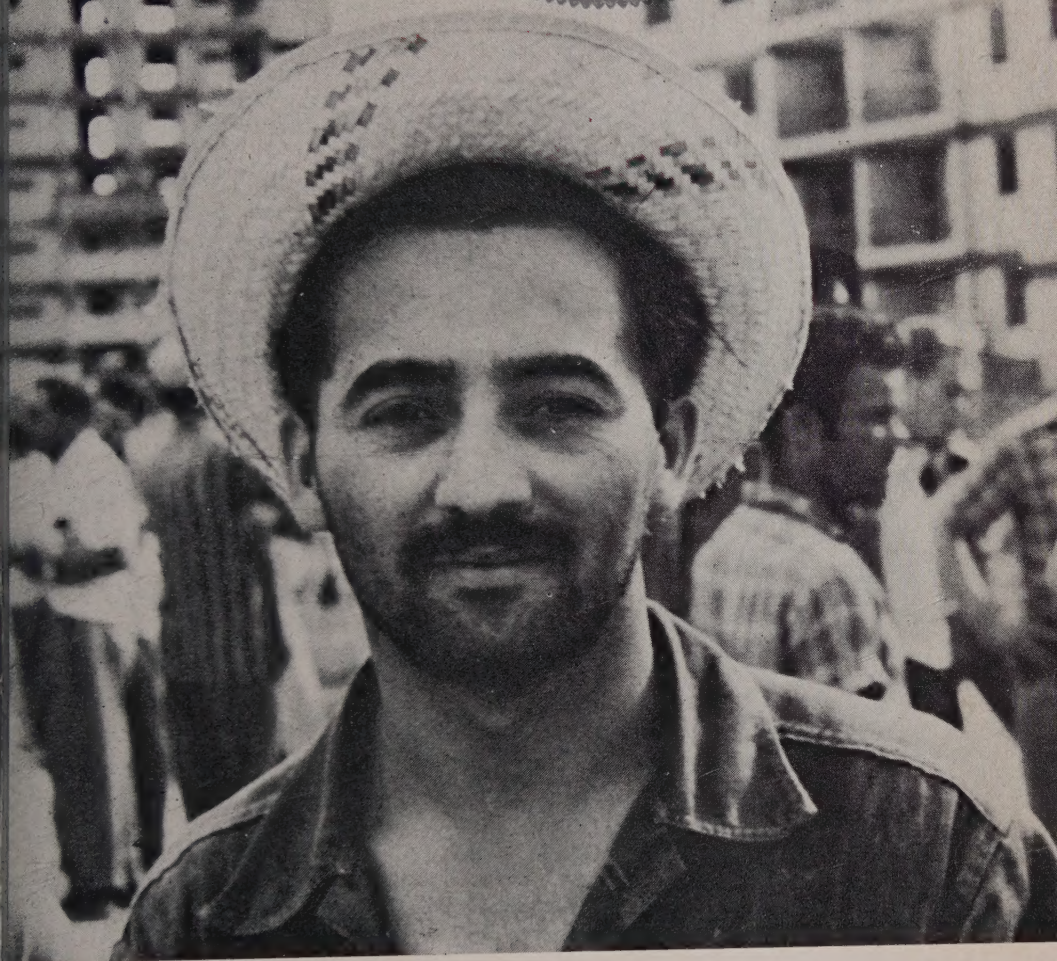


Fellowship



MARCH 1, 1961

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Sidney Lens

WHICH WAY CUBA?

EXCLUSIVE FIRST-HAND REPORT BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Ritchie Calder

CHAOS IN THE CONGO

Jean Lasserre

NONVIOLENT ACTION IN FRANCE

A. J. Muste

RED DECADES IN FOCUS

Edith Lovejoy Pierce

A STONE'S THROW

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

VOL. 27 • NO. 6

MARCH 1, 1961

EDITOR
ALFRED HASSLER

MANAGING EDITOR
WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT
PAUL PEABODY

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PHOTO EDITOR FOR THIS ISSUE: MATT HERRON

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS

Vera Brittain
Marguerite Harmon Bro
Allan Knight Chalmers
Florence Converse
Henry Hitt Crane
Albert Edward Day
Eugene Exman
Caleb Foote
Albert Fowler
Richard B. Gregg
Wallace Hamilton
John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
Aldous Huxley
Josephine W. Johnson
Jameson Jones
Martin Luther King Jr.
James M. Lawson Jr.
Muriel Lester
Milton Mayer
Alfred D. Moore
Ferner Nuhn
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Pitirim A. Sorokin
Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley Jr.
Howard Thurman

ILLUSTRATOR
BARRY MARTIN

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See inside back cover for list of officers, staff and advisory council. An abbreviated form of the Fellowship's statement of purpose—"That Men May Live"—appears on page 36.



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EDITORIAL COMMENTS

ON THE CURRENT SCENE

CUBA

More of this issue is devoted to a single article—Sid Lens' report on Cuba—than is usually the case with *FELLOWSHIP*. The fact reflects not only our feeling that it is an exceptionally good article, but also our conviction that the matter of U.S.-Cuban relationships may well be the most critical international problem facing our country today. There are a number of reasons for this judgment.

First is the fact that there have been few more dramatic instances of the degree to which the American public is frequently misinformed on matters of enormous importance to its own and others' well-being. The chasm between the facts of Cuba as reported by men like Lens and as recounted in the general press is very nearly unbelievable. Readers who wonder whether this reflects a peculiar bias of Lens or *FELLOWSHIP* or both are referred to Herbert L. Matthews' "The Cuban Revolution" in Stanford's *Hispanic-American Report*, Kyle Baselden's three recent articles in *The Christian Century*, and Dave Dellinger's two in *Liberation*, to mention only a few. The assumption of democracy is that people will find their way if they are given true facts on which to make their judgments. This kind of evidence of extensive omission, distortion and misrepresentation of the facts presents a very serious dilemma for those who cherish democracy.

Second, the Cuban situation raises grave questions as to just how far our country is willing to go in surrendering its moral and political idealism to the demands of our preoccupation with communism and our concern for the sanctity of private property. Openly published reports that the Central Intelligence Agency is heavily subsidizing the military subversion of the Cuban government, with a U.S. military airfield apparently being used by forces openly hostile to the Castro government, hardly seem consistent with our eloquent

expressions of indignation against Communist subversion in other countries.

Third, we seem officially to be displaying profound insensitivity to the needs and aspirations of the genuinely needy peoples of Latin America and, by extension, the rest of the world. It is not whitewashing the Castro regime to acknowledge that it has led and is leading a genuine, badly needed, deep-going social revolution, or to say that millions of restless peasants in northern Brazil, Guatemala, Nicaragua and other countries south of our borders are watching it with longing and hope. Our near-psychosis about communism, which seems to drive us officially to label every significant social change as Communist-inspired, will succeed in alienating this country from the whole throbbing upward movement of people around the globe if it continues, to say nothing of actually forcing these movements into the arms of the Communists.

We believe there is still time to bring a new, reconciling spirit to bear in our relations with Cuba. But it will have to start soon.

TEAM

The Fellowship of Reconciliation has been trying to get a "reconciliation team" into Cuba since January 20, with the intention of including its report with the Lens article in this issue. Restrictions on travel to Cuba were published on January 19, one day before the team was due to go—and the new Administration was to come into office. The new regulation provided that only such citizens might go whose going would be "in the best interests of the United States," which so far has been interpreted as referring to newspaper and business men. At mid-February the State Department was still wrestling with the knotty question of whether a visit to Cuba by a group of peacemakers would be in the best interest of the country.

CHINA

The Fellowship's renewal of its 1954-55 "surplus-food-for-China" campaign, stimulated by the news of extensive famine in that country, finds itself in a more hospitable atmosphere than was the case five years ago.

A CBS correspondent, reporting on television from Moscow, called openly for making such an offer. Chet Huntley, on NBC, reporting on purchases of wheat by China from Canada, observed that the consequences of the current famine over the years might account for as many as 60 million deaths.

The Christian Century has called editorially for such an offer, observing that the gospel commandment is not "If thine enemy hunger, let him starve." The Rev. Billy Graham has urged that the United States send "100 shiploads of food to Communist China," and the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ urged President Kennedy to make "an immediate offer of wheat for the starving people of China." *Life* magazine, also repeating its move of five years ago, has done the same.

None of these moves guarantees that an offer will be made. There is considerable opposition to the move from people unable to distinguish between a starving youngster in South China and a brutalized guard in a Korean War prison camp. Others question the need for food, citing reported shipments of food from China to Ceylon, Guinea and Cuba. (These, explained partly by prior commitments and partly by the "demands" of the cold war and the need for foreign exchange, have been dwarfed by the significant purchases from Canada and Australia.)

But the attitude of the Administration is clearly not as hostile to such a move as was the case in 1955. Clear evidence of widespread public support is what is needed now. FELLOWSHIP readers, mailing their little grain bags or writing letters to the President can help considerably in building that evidence.

THE CONGO

The murder of Patrice Lumumba has focused world attention on the Congo

again after a period of relative quiet. At this writing it is too soon to make an informed comment on the situation. Predictions had been made freely that Lumumba were found to be dead, civil war would break out, and that may yet be the case. If it does, it will carry with it great danger of expanding into a wide more devastating conflict. The Soviets, in characteristic fashion, are thoroughly muddying the waters through their accusations against Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld and their announced intention of boycotting him. Any valid criticisms of the might have of UN activities are obscured by the callous attempt to turn the Congolese tragedy to their own account in the cold war, and, of course, their extravagant behavior makes it infinitely more difficult to resolve the problem without further bloodshed.

Mr. Hammarskjöld might understandably decide to wash his hands of the whole matter and retire to more appreciative surroundings in Sweden. Plummetered into an impossible situation with inadequate resources and a confused and shifting mandate, he now finds himself accused by the Russians as an "accomplice and organizer" of Lumumba's murder and by the Katang government as responsible for bathing the Congo in "fire and blood." It is to our own country's credit that it has generally supported the UN official without seeming to control him.

The whole crisis emphasizes the tragic chain of consequences stemming from the initial failure of the Belgians to make honest preparations for the transfer of power to the Congolese. For a helpful understanding of this background, and a vivid picture of the real problems that confront the UN, we recommend readers to Richard Calder's article in this issue. Written well before the current crisis, of course, it will contribute to an understanding of at least of the terrible complexity of the situation.

It emphasizes also the imperative need for a United Nations genuinely free to act with power and authority in such a situation. If it is to intervene effectively the UN must (1) establish beyond doubt its neutrality in whatever power struggles are going on, and (2) be able to act without

requiring preliminary approval for every move from power blocs whose first concern is with their own possible gains vis-a-vis the other.

CONGO FOOTNOTE

Joseph Ileo, new premier in the Kasavubu government, is described by the *New York Times* as a pacifist. A one-time close associate of Lumumba, he is said to have broken with the former premier when the latter abandoned the policy of nonviolence to which Ileo is reportedly committed.

PRAYER

In a recent issue of the pro-Zionist *Jewish Newsletter* there was reprinted, in connection with the case of Adolph Eichmann, a "Prayer from a Concentration Camp" that appeared originally in the *FOR Newsletter* for September, 1946. It is worth printing here, too, as a reminder for all of us.

"May peace be with the men of evil will, and an end set to all vengeance and all talk of punishment and chastising. . . Cruelty exceeds all measure: its deeds are beyond human understanding, and its martyrs too many to count. Therefore, O God, weight not their sufferings in the scales of justice lest these deeds be charged to the hangmen and dreadful reckoning be demanded. Rather credit even hangmen and informers and traitors, and all evil men, with all the courage and spiritual strength, all the simple contentment and noble dignity of the victims, with their quiet endeavor at all times, their hope that they refused to be conquered, their brave smile that dried up tears, and all the sacrifice and burning love of torn and tortured hearts that remained strong and confident in face of death and in death itself—all that do Thou reckon for a ransom for the forgiving of sin and that justice may be raised from the dead. Count the good and not the evil . . ."

RECONCILIATION

"A merely fallen enemy may rise again, but the reconciled one is truly vanquished."

Credit—Schiller

CONTRIBUTORS

IN THIS ISSUE

Sidney Lens has been a labor union official for two decades. During the past dozen years he has visited 64 countries and written five books, the most recent of which is *Working Men* (Putnam \$2.95), a history of trade unionism for young readers, and articles that have appeared in a score of newspapers and magazines, including *Harper's*, *The Reporter*, *New Leader*, *The Christian Century* and *FELLOWSHIP*. In December, only four weeks before diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States were broken off, the editors of *FELLOWSHIP* commissioned Mr. Lens to go to Cuba as our special correspondent. "Which Way Cuba" is based chiefly on the observations he made during his trip.

Ritchie Calder was sent to the Congo as a consultant for the United Nations and the World Health Organization. He is a member of the Council of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. His article, "The Nuclear Graveyard," appeared in the Sept. 1, 1959 issue of *FELLOWSHIP*.

Jean Lasserre is pastor of the French Reformed Church in Saint-Etienne, France, and editor of *Cahiers de la Reconciliation*, magazine of the French FOR. His book, *L'Evangile et la Guerre* (to be published this year as *War and the Gospel* by Herald Press) has been hailed in Europe as the best exegetical exposition of pacifism that has yet been produced. Pastor Lasserre will soon be regional secretary of the International FOR for French-speaking countries in Europe. He was an active participant in many of the activities of NVCA which he describes in this issue.

A. J. Muste, who reviews "Communism and the Churches," was founder and leader of the American Workers Party—"the Musteites"—during his own brief excursion into leftist politics in the 1930's. After his return to Christian pacifism, he led the FOR through the critical period with which author Ralph Lord Roy deals, setting a path of clear noncollaboration with Communist or "united front" efforts while retaining a concern for the individuals who happened to be Communists. It is a policy to which the Fellowship has adhered ever since.

CHAOS

IN THE

CONGO



BY RITCHIE CALDER

ON THE DAY WHEN, in the Cold War climate of New York, Khrushchev was demanding Dag Hammarskjöld's resignation, I was being arrested by the uncouth soldiery of the Congolese National Army which, ill-officered, unpaid, unfed and undisciplined, roams the country like the broken bands which terrorized medieval Europe.

The grim truth is that the Congo, with its fabulous resources and its advanced development under Belgian rule, was left bankrupt and paralyzed by "independence." Even if law and order had been maintained, the Congolese would have been faced with serious economic, social, political and administrative problems. If events had not led to the call to the Security Council to intervene, the Congolese would still have needed massive international aid, out of all proportion to anything which UN Technical Assistance has yet provided anywhere. For, as a deliberate and consistent policy, Belgium prevented any Congolese from acquiring any comprehensive experience by which he could replace the Belgian key men.

There were only 17 University graduates in the Congo, in a country 11 times the size of Britain with a population of 13.5 million. There was not one Congolese medical graduate, but there were 761 Eu-

ropean doctors—a creditable doctor/population ratio of one to 18,000. There were many Congolese technicians—medical assistants, laboratory assistants, clerks and mechanics—well educated to secondary level and apprenticed-trained for their restricted functions. But, while the Belgians ruled the Congo, they could never by length of service, by ability or by extended training aspire to any position of executive responsibility or authority.

True, the University of Lovanium, founded seven years ago, had, to the end of the credit of the parent University of Louvain, been opened to Africans in the face of government opposition. The Ministry for the Congo opposed their admission to the faculties of medicine or law as well as the setting up of faculties other than those with strict practical purposes such as agricultural engineering. And some of the big business concerns were beginning to realize that, politics apart, they had better make use of talents and abilities which could no longer be ignored. "If we had known what was coming," said an official of Union Minière, "we should have started doing this five years ago." He referred to the UN scheme for taking trained Congolese and "topping them up" into qualified executives and graduates, by in-training, by special university courses in the Congo or by sending them abroad.

"If we had known . . ." When did they know? Though the Belgians just quit, with

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out even a pretense at a systematic hand-over, they had made preparations for one aspect of evacuation. For a year before independence, they were transferring material power to Brussels. They removed the gold reserve of the Congo, saying that it was needed to underwrite the pensions and compensation of displaced Belgians. Funds for the wages of Congolese workers in certain public utilities were also taken out of the country, and money for payment of public services was blocked in Belgian banks. The clearing house for all export-import transactions was effectively in Belgium. Thus, before independence, the Congo treasury had lost most of its liquid assets.

In 1957 those assets stood at over ten billion francs, or over \$200 million. By the end of 1959 they had declined to 500 million francs, about ten million dollars. The Central Bank had previously held Congo money to the tune of five billion francs, but by Independence Day in July 1960, the new government found itself owing the Belgian-controlled bank over two billion francs. This is a strange-looking ledger for a country whose annual exports were worth about 139 billion francs. Note that all these transactions took place before the disturbances.

The mutiny of the Force Publique was the cause of the panic which sent Belgians pouring across the Congo River and over the border into Rhodesia. A curious body, this Force Publique. I asked in the Congo why its Belgian officers were the first to bolt. The answer I got was: "What would a lion-tamer do, if the lion he'd trained to snarl turned really nasty?" It was a body of 20,000 men, separate from the gendarmerie and the police, recruited from all over the country. Its officers were white (so that after the mutiny Congolese corporals became self-appointed colonels) and its function in the hinterland, at least, was government-on-the-cheap. If a village did not pay its taxes, the Force Publique would go in and teach it better. That was the force (now called the Congolese National Army) whose mutiny spread the panic. There can be no doubt that some rumors of terrorist attacks were deliberately spread. Who then profited from such provocation?

The answer came when Belgian paratroopers, angered by accounts of the raping of nuns and officers' wives and of other ugly incidents, were flown in. They were scattered throughout the country. The panic which the Force Publique had spread among the whites, was spread by the Belgian shock troops among the blacks. Everywhere now there is fear and hatred of the paratroopers; this fear is the pretext for the searches of white homes and indiscriminate arrests. The Tunisians of the International Telecommunications Union were arrested as "paratroopers." In the same city, Stanleyville, in the heart of the Congo, Max Wilde of the World Health Organization and myself were arrested and taken to the army camp because, through no fault of ours, we had been air-routed to Stanleyville by way of Usumbura, which is in Ruanda-Urundi and still under Belgian trusteeship. We must, therefore, be "paratroopers."

After the Belgians Left

To restore law and order and insure that Belgian forces withdrew, the UN Force was sent in. By the end of October, it consisted of 18,500 men from 29 nations. But this is the equivalent of only 22 battalions, quite inadequate for its duties in the deliberately provoked troubles of, say, Kasai and Katanga. That provocation had the connivance, or worse, of one member-state of the United Nations—Belgium.

When the United Nations was called in, Dr. M. G. Candau, the Director-General of the World Health Organization, with senior members of his staff, flew immediately to the Congo to survey the medical situation, with all its hazards. It was forbidding. Over 40 per cent of the European doctors had gone. So had all the *agents sanitaires*, the Belgian leaders of the Congolese health teams in the preventive services. The nursing situation was not too bad. The nursing sisters, mainly *religieuses* and the *infirmiers* (the Congolese male nurses) and the male and female orderlies had remained at their posts. With a disruption of communications, it was difficult to get trustworthy information about the remote districts, but it seemed clear that the medical missionaries and the doctors of the plantations and

other companies were carrying on. One of the most serious aspects was the imminent collapse of disease control and of the sanitary services. Here was the threat of pestilence.

Dr. Candau acted immediately. From all over the world he summoned staff personnel of the WHO. Those were deployed all over the Congo to take over hospitals and forsaken medical institutions. But while it was essential to underpin the extensive (and creditable) Belgian clinical services, the crisis lay in the preventive services.

An illustration from my own experience illustrates the point. In Luluabourg, in Kasai, the street refuse had not been collected since three months before independence. The filth was piled roof-high in the Congolese quarters and the cesspools of the elegant European villas (there was no communal drainage) were stinking to high heaven. The Congolese, whose water supply in their five communes had long before been cut off by the Belgians, were bathing, laundering and getting their drinking supplies in the creek. When I saw them, hundreds were engaged in their ablutions in water which was diverted over a weir into the waterworks which supplied the European town. At the first filter stage it produced a scum as thick and dark as molasses.

Stopping the Plague

To treat this sewage there was only a Congolese staff. The "only" is not derogatory; the Congolese laboratory assistant was highly qualified in bacteriological testing; the man in charge of the chemical treatment was equally to be trusted. But the Belgians who had given the instructions had gone, and as in every other technical job in the Congo, the assistants had not been allowed to know how their work interrelated. Fortunately, when the Belgians left, the bacterial count had been high, and so also the prescribed quantity of purifying chemicals. The Congolese whose job it was to add those chemicals had gone on carrying out his last instructions. If, to economize in the

chemicals which were growing scarce, he had modified the treatment, there might have been a pestilence.

Mr. Arnold Wilson, a Haitian public health engineer, arrived in the nick of time. He took charge of the purification plant, organized a do-it-yourself week, in which the Africans combined to shift the refuse; and, finding a store of DDT, he organized spraying squads to control the malaria which was threatening the town.

This, and many other incidents, convinced the WHO that exceptional steps must be taken. They were "exceptional" in UN terms because the principle of Technical Assistance requires that experts must be asked for, and accepted by, the responsible departments of member states. But the threatened diseases were not just a matter for the Congo; and WHO,

with the consent of the UN, recruited immediately 130 international medical personnel, guaranteeing their salaries and terms of service. It has also made arrangements to provide professors and instructors, so that the Congolese medical colleges can secure an im-

mediate increase in intake, and sent other students to Europe. By such means the Congo may itself provide about 500 qualified physicians by 1970—still over 600 short of the number required to maintain the level of medical services which prevailed before the Belgians left. Foreign doctors will be needed in the Congo in great numbers for perhaps 15 to 20 years more.

Rough Justice

The escape from rough treatment and imprisonment which Max Wilde and I had when we were grabbed by the Congolese army, gave me an urgent personal interest in what had happened to justice in the Congo. If an Ethiopian officer of the UN Force had not turned up at a propitious moment, we could have disappeared as anonymously as the victims of *lettres de cachet* vanished into the Bastille.

It happens all the time. The army, gendarmerie or police arrest people indiscrim-



inately—even their own officers and politicians, who, if warned, invariably seek the UN protection which they revere. I found that the jails of Stanleyville were in the control of those self-same CNA who arrested me. I tried to get in (as a visitor) and might have succeeded but the CNA started to arrest some politicians, and the Ethiopians who were arranging to get me in were otherwise engaged getting them out.

Instead I sought to go to a criminal court. There were none sitting. I then investigated the judiciary. It was a shameful story. In July, all the magistrates of Oriental Province, with two exceptions, had bolted, leaving the acquittals of innocent people and the sentences of dangerous criminals unsigned. People who were merely under suspicion, waiting the inquiry of the examining magistrates, are still in jail. Murderers, rapists and felons are at large. The lawyers who had remained, including non-Belgian Europeans, were asked to form benches of judges. They agreed, leaving a few to appear as advocates. But their number were too small. The *Procureur d'Etat*, a Greek who is one of the volunteers, who was supposed to examine all accused and decide on the case against them, had one assistant, instead of the 14 at work under the Belgians. He had appointed some Congolese "deputies" to inquire into lesser crimes, but most of the time he had no idea who had been arrested and could not investigate the charges if he did. Instead of 25 judges, the volunteers provided a bench of five, to handle the criminal and civil cases (I saw civil suits being dealt with at one-a-minute). For their pains, they were denounced as "unethical" by the fugitive magistrates assembled in Brussels. Law brought into such contempt quickly loses its authority.

Justice was in ruins. There were no human rights. Of the 400 lawyers of the Belgian Congo courts not more than 20 remained. There were no Congolese lawyers. Two Congolese students may receive their law degree in a year's time, and only four more will graduate from the Lovanium

Law Faculty in 1962. One of these is the Commissioner-General for Justice, in the *Collège des universitaires* which took over the running of the Ministries. He, like the other undergraduate commissioners, arrived with the Belgian professors who will be responsible for deciding his degree, and who meanwhile proceeded to run the Ministry of Justice.

There must, in plain common sense, be a recruitment of international jurists, French-speaking, Code Napoléon lawyers, vouched for by some responsible body like the International Commission of Jurists. They must form the courts and, as an immediate measure, set up a traveling assize to clear up the defaults of justice throughout the country. Yet, on the contrary, there is an attempt, concerted between the Belgians in the Ministry of Justice and the authorities in Brus-

sels, to reinstate 122 magistrates formerly in the Congo. Apart from the affront to justice, I predict that, in some parts of the country where I have been, if those magistrates return, there will be riots. If, however, the UN must defer to the conventions of ministerial sanction and is unable to get authority for the recruitment of international replacements,

the Belgians will certainly come back.



International Robber Barons in Katanga and Kasai

Irish soldiers were killed in Katanga, interposing between Balubabakat (Balubas of Katanga) tribesmen armed with spears, bows and poisoned arrows, and forces armed and officered by the Belgians. This was an outcome of the demand for the secession of Katanga, one of the richest mining areas with copper (which, in spite of the troubles, will have a 50 per cent higher output next year), uranium and other minerals. Such secession would mean the loss of about half the revenue of the central government. To the north, there is another secession movement, in South Kasai, an area which produces 80 per cent of the world's industrial diamonds. Those political demands have a suspicious coincidence

with the territories in which Forminière and Union Minière operate. But nothing so obvious could be true in the Congo, where the apparent never seems to be real.

Although it would need a search-war-rant, a safe-breaker and a computer to discover and sort out the international ramifications of those two corporations, they are obviously Belgian only by register nowadays. British "Tanks," Rockefeller, De Beers and others who may lurk in the background are not quite so crude today as the Robber Barons who encouraged the Indian wars of U. S. frontier days—with which events in Bas Katanga and South Kasai have a lot in common. Moreover, their long-term interests override the primitive politics of Katanga and Kasai. Their anxiety is about concessions due to expire in 1990. Apart from any question of expropriation, one of the biggest shareholders of Union Minière is the "Government of Congo." That, in terms of the constitution which the United Nations has gone in to maintain, must be the central government and not separatist governments in Katanga or Kasai.

The Role of the Belgians

So, unlike the Belgians of Elizabethville, who ostentatiously get off the footwalks to avoid the shadows of UN officials, or symbolically, and sometimes actually, spit in UN soldiers' beer, the representatives of big business are correct and cooperative in their relations with UNOC.

That makes the general attitude of the Belgians all the more perplexing. The conclusion one reaches is that they are quite naive. They must have thought that while they took the credit for the transfer of nominal power they could retain actual control. They would officer the Force Publique and, by proving themselves indispensable, would be called back to run the government, with Congolese ministers as

stooges. The financial and economic control would, as they purposely contrived in the year before independence, be 3,000 miles away in Brussels. But the mutiny of the Force Publique, the maladroit dispatch of the paratroopers, the "ingratitude" of politicians and, above all, the intervention of the UN to prevent re-colonization, under any guise, upset such simple-minded calculations.

Now, with the panic of July behind them, they are trying to get back in more devious ways. They have kept their hold on Katanga and they have found means of influencing the Commissioners General, the undergraduates who have taken over the central government ministries. The return is highly organized. The Belgian govern-

ment makes no bones about that. It has denounced Dag Hammarskjöld and Ambassador Dayal, his representative in the Congo, for resisting, as under Security Council directive they must, its new take-over bid. It has refused to conform to the demand that all technical aid to the Congo should be

channeled through the UN, a course which is manifestly best for all parties—and particularly for the individual Belgians.

The facts are plain: the Belgians, in surrendering the Congo ship-of-state, scuttled it. They abandoned the bridge, removed the logs and charts, emptied the bunkers, fouled the propellers, opened the seacocks and scrambled for the lifeboats.

The United Nations took over a ship adrift, with a mutiny aboard. UNOC has closed the seacocks, applied the pumps and done the caulking and patching. Now it has to train a captain and a crew and, with empty bunkers, try to set it on its voyage of independence. Under Dr. Sture Linner, chief of civilian operations, there are less than 200 experts of all kinds for a country 11 times as big as Britain. They need all the help they can get.



WHICH WAY CUBA?

BY SIDNEY LENS



photo: Wajdyk

GREAT EVENTS stir great controversies. The Cuban Revolution has inflamed emotions and created partisanship such as no other event in our hemisphere this past century. The first reaction in the United States to Fidel Castro and his July 26th Movement was favorable, though somewhat cautious. In the ensuing two years, however, molded American sentiment has veered 180 degrees in the opposite direction. The present image of Cuba is a jumbled mixture of confusion and hostility.

Our press, of course, helps stimulate one-sided estimates. It is not so much that the Fourth Estate publishes outright lies (though some of it does). But it paints only half the picture, and it puts nothing into context. Everything negative is played up, everything positive is either omitted or played down. The press, for instance, gratuitously denied in January that any invasion of Cuba by the United States was imminent. These were presumably "wild charges." But the same press, at that very time, knew that the anti-Castro forces had training bases on American and Central American soil, they knew how many men they had under arms, and what role the CIA was playing in their affairs. They

knew this because they were told it—to my absolute knowledge—by leaders of the counter-revolution. Yet they didn't publish a line of this because it might indicate that some kind of invasion of Cuba from our shores was possible, after all.

If a bomb explodes in Havana it is front-page news in the United States, but when a thousand homes are built for poor peasants it does not rate a line. If Fidel Castro's brother, Ramon, criticizes the Cuban government, it hits the front pages, but the polls by Princeton University and a private American company last summer that showed Castro had the support of eighty-six per cent of the population rated hardly a mention.

Such monolithic reporting prejudges the Cuban Revolution and makes it difficult to unravel its complex nature. Before I left for Cuba I had an uneasy feeling that perhaps the Revolution had foundered after all. In Havana, however, I found that many of the same American correspondents whose dispatches had created this mood were themselves struggling with their doubts. They were not quite as sure as their articles indicated that the Revolution had gone "off track."

In this welter of charges and counter-charges it seems clear that we must seek some frame of reference, some yardstick, by which to judge the Cuban controversy. It can be done, I think, by disentangling the issue and viewing it from three points of focus rather than one.

A. Was the Revolution necessary and

what has it done for the Cuban people?

B. Who is right in the dispute between Cuba and the U. S. Department of State?

C. Can the Revolution survive on its present course without subverting its own objectives?

The Necessity of the Revolution

NO MAN OF GOOD WILL, informed of the history of Cuba, can deny the *necessity* of the Revolution. The facts are simply unassailable.

Back in 1868 the Cubans rose in armed rebellion against Spanish tyranny. Their struggle was so fierce that it lasted ten years and 80,000 Spanish soldiers were killed quashing it. In 1895, inspired by the writings of Jose Marti, the masses rose again and were well on the road to victory when the United States declared war against Spain. American military might, with hardly a casualty, carried the day and Cuba became nominally independent; the revolutionaries fully expected that now they could exercise true sovereignty.

The tragedy of modern Cuba, however, only begins at this point. Before a sovereign constitution could be written, the United States forced the new nation to accept the Platt Amendment which gave the U. S. the right to "intervene" in Cuban affairs whenever in its opinion Cuban independence or the "maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty" was threatened. The Cubans objected to this overlordship because it armed the U. S. with a weapon for dominating Cuban politics. But they had no alternative. Three times in the ensuing years American military forces occupied the island, and once they ruled it through financial and other advisors.

So potent was the Platt Amendment in forcing concessions from "sovereign" Cuba that within twenty-five years American sugar interests rose from ten per cent to sixty-three per cent of the total; American-

owned banks eventually held one-quarter of all Cuban deposits; American oil companies, together with the Dutch-British firm, Shell, controlled the whole petroleum industry; and fully ninety per cent of the electric and telephone facilities, as well as mines and cattle ranches, belonged to North Americans. Though the sugar holdings declined to forty per cent by 1958, profits for the big firms ran to twenty-three per cent of capital and almost all of it was repatriated to the mainland rather than invested to improve Cuba.

The U. S. in Cuban Politics

Economic penetration was inevitably followed by political control—even after the Platt Amendment was abrogated during the New Deal era. No government could remain in power without U. S. assent. When we refused to recognize Grau San Martin in 1933, his radical government fell. When Fulgencio Batista made his *coup d'état* in 1952—after ascertaining that he had absolutely no chance of winning the pending election—immediate recognition by the United States made his position impregnable. Batista himself has given some insight into the process of American domination. In his recently published memoirs he records that only a few weeks before his regime fell (in 1959) he was called in by the American Ambassador and told he would have to yield his rule to a military *junta*. This time American interference was sterile because the Castro Revolution was too deepgoing. But it indicates the mentality of American Ambassadors accustomed to off-stage manipulation of Cuban politics.

The effects of our materialistic policy were twofold: on the one hand it created a class of corrupt Cuban politicians and hangers-on who looted the country and kept it stagnant; on the other it kept the great mass mired in poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and disease. Only nine per cent of rural homes had electricity, only two per cent inside piping for water, only three per cent toilets. Fully one-third of the working class was unemployed in good times—a percentage considerably higher than what we had at the depth of our Great Depression. Three-quarters of the sugar workers worked only three months a year, during the *zafra* (harvest) period. One-third of the population was totally illiterate, and one-third only semi-literate with less than three years of schooling. In the farm sections ninety per cent of the people suffered from worm diseases such as dysentery, or from anemia.

Widespread Graft Under Batista

In this setting, Batista's corrupt favorites made vast fortunes—and so did their American allies. In the seven years of his last reign, Batista's friends are reported to have embezzled hundreds of millions from union social funds and at least \$400 million in graft from construction. I was told (by a non-Fidelista, incidentally) of a typical instance of the Batista technique: a railroad owner was called in by the regime and told he would have to sell his holdings for \$10 million. But he was to bill the government for \$15 million; the other \$5 million was for the private coffers of the dictator and his friends. Every segment of society was infiltrated with this corruption. Gambling and prostitution were widespread, and what the underpaid worker could earn from his labors was always in danger of being

"expropriated" by the one-armed bandits and the ubiquitous gambling casinos.

The unions were headed by men such as Eusebio Mujal, who bought a 6,000-acre cattle ranch worth \$4 million during the Batista era—on a salary of \$24,000 a year. Workers were forced to pay dues to the unions through a national check-off from their wages, but their strikes were often ruled illegal or smashed. The educational system was a quagmire of ineptness and payoff: the more the regime spent on education the less education there was. The reason is that hundreds of teachers were hired for "special" subjects, such as Greek or music, which they taught only an hour a week; and 1,315 "inspectors" were used to inspect 18,000 classrooms. Less than three per cent of the children who entered the first grade were ever able to reach the eighth.

To counterbalance this corrupt rule, Batista used naked terror against his adversaries. A general estimate in Havana is that 20,000 people were tortured and killed by the regime. Of the hundreds of people I met I found no one who did not have a relative or friend who had been executed by Batista. Even if this figure is discounted somewhat, it is significant that the United States did not protest the crime; it was willing to overlook such transgressions if the dictator was "on our side."

This was the Cuba that the mass of Cuban people rebelled against. It was so dishonest, so heedless of the interests of the masses, that Castro, with only 6,000 men under arms, was able to "defeat" Batista's American-trained and American-supplied army of 46,000. Properly speaking, Castro did not win a military victory so much as he disintegrated the dictator's forces by his promise of social reform.

What the Revolution Has Achieved

WHAT HAS THE Revolution done for Cuba?

Our press has muddled the answer by focusing on the bearded leader of the Revolution,

Fidel Castro, who is pictured as a crank and a megalomaniac. It is useless in my opinion to discuss such charges, because even if they were true it is impossible to

predict the course of a nation's history by psychoanalyzing its leader.

We can note parenthetically, however, that Castro is not quite the fool he is pictured. His speeches are long and verbose, but they are also logical and quite erudite. The speech he made to a court in 1953 after his unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Batista—which is now titled "History will absolve me"—is a brilliant exposition of the right of revolution against tyranny. His references to the American Declaration of Independence, the writings of Thomas Aquinas, Martin Luther, John Althus, stamp him as a man of keen historical perception. His courage, of course, is unquestioned: landing in Cuba from Mexico in December 1956, with only twelve survivors out of eighty-two, he gathered thousands of adherents and fought in the mountains of Oriente Province for two years until victory was achieved.

No Graft or Special Privileges

Since coming to power Castro has rejected any attempt to idolize him. Unlike Stalin or Kwame Nkrumah he refuses to permit any cities to be named after him, any coins to bear his imprint, or any monuments to be erected in his honor. He receives a salary of \$3,600 a year—without any emoluments or graft—and is reported to live quite modestly. There has not been the remotest taint of corruption or nepotism in his make-up. When he instituted land reform he confiscated 22,000 acres belonging to his brother, Ramon (leaving him the standard 1,000), just as he did with everyone else in this status.

But whether this picture of Castro adequately describes him, or whether he is truly drunk with power, is irrelevant. The important thing to consider is what the Revolution has done for the Cuban people. Admittedly many former Batista supporters and many members of the middle and upper classes have been hurt. There have been innumerable errors of administration—such as the failure to give adequate receipts when taking over property; and not a few injustices. But these are the inevitable concomitants of a major social change. They must be judged in the context of the *total* change—how the mass of the popu-

lation have benefited. In two years the Revolution has remade Cuba. It has injected a sense of common purpose never visible before. It has given the nation the first honest government in its history. It has redistributed wealth and income, has diversified agriculture, improved industry, accelerated education, eliminated racial discrimination, increased medical facilities and given the country—at the grass roots—a feeling of hope such as it never enjoyed before.

As one of its first measures, the Revolution reduced rents by one-half, electricity and other services somewhat less. Late last year it instituted an "urban reform" under which it abolished landlordism: within five years most urban dwellers will own their own homes or apartments. The landlords will be paid the present rents for five years (more in some cases where the buildings are newer) up to a maximum of \$600 a month, and then the dweller will be given title. Urban reform has resulted in quite a few unfair seizures. There is the taxi driver who some years ago bought a two-flat house as a cushion against his old age. Now the regime has seized the second flat. There is the elderly lady whose sublet apartment was taken from her when she left for six months to nurse her dying mother. But a government minister told me that the regime has set up a council to restudy such inequities and make indemnity. "We just don't have enough capable administrators to do the job right the first time, and we've had to go too fast. We must therefore go back and review all our acts to correct such decisions."

Land Reform & State Farms

The Revolution has carried out a land reform deeper than any in our hemisphere. It has confiscated all sugar lands and all estates over 1,000 acres (with minor exceptions). Where there were tenant farmers or sharecroppers it gave them the land—up to sixty-six acres—and is now forming an association which will make available low-cost credit. Forty per cent of the land is privately owned, and will doubtlessly remain that way. The rest has been formed into cooperatives (virtually run by the state) and state farms. What is so attractive

about these institutions is that they offer year-round work for their laborers, where yesterday most worked only three months during harvest time. Two hundred million dollars has been allotted to diversify agriculture so that Cuba can overcome its dependence on sugar. Beans, rice, yams, tomatoes, potatoes and many other crops are being planted on the forty to fifty per cent of the land that was formerly idle. Agricultural production in two years has gone up seven to ten per cent, a formidable figure, as any economist will tell you. There are still some shortages in certain periods—and these are seized on by the American press to indicate that “the economy is foundering”—but there have always been shortages under all other regimes, and there is no doubt that the Cuban *guajiro* and the Cuban worker are living much better than yesterday.

Housing, Jobs, Literacy

The Revolution has built tens of thousands of new homes for the village and city poor. No matter where you go, you see new concrete five-room single dwellings which are being built for the common man. “I have to pinch myself,” said an old woman at the Jesus Menendez cooperative in Aquacate, “when I think that I will move into that modern new house over there.” The *bohío* that she and tens of thousands of others live in now had a thatched roof and dirt floor. When it rains the rain seeps through, and in hurricane weather the wind blows through. In one hut in the Sierra Maestra I talked with a family of six that lived in an area of eight feet by fifteen. The only furniture was two beds, a table and old boxes for chairs. No toilet, no water, no electricity, no amenities whatsoever. I asked the wife why she supported the Revolution since she hadn’t received a new home. “Yes,” she said, “but you must give them time. I know I will get one because I see the homes going up all around me.” In East Havana the government is erecting a large housing project that will shelter 3,000 families. It is even furnishing those apartments where the dwellers have no furniture.

The Revolution has put jobless to work, raised wages, and either kept or lowered

prices on necessities. Of the 700,000 unemployed under Batista, 300,000 have been given jobs in these two short years; and according to a UN economic expert who is a Christian Socialist from another Latin country, not a Fidelista, there will be full employment within the next two years. In one province there is already a shortage of labor. Wages for the working class have risen by \$90 million, a sizable figure in an economy of less than \$3 billion. And cuts in the cost of meat, lard, credit, and various other items have contributed equally to the general welfare.

Making jobs is a major preoccupation of the regime. To do so it is not only diversifying agriculture but building factories. Twenty-three per cent of the national product is being formed into capital for new ventures. The economy is growing, despite the American squeeze, at the rate of nine per cent a year, and industrial production is up by almost thirty per cent since the end of 1958.

The Revolution has initiated a crash program to destroy illiteracy and improve education. There were 18,000 classrooms two years ago; 30,000 now. Old military barracks have been converted into schools. Educational enrollment has doubled. In the Sierra Maestra the regime is spending \$37 million to build forty units of a boarding school that will house 20,000 children now living in inaccessible mountain areas. Two other such schools are contemplated for other provinces. Teachers now are working two shifts a day in order to speed the process of education. Ten thousand voluntary teachers (most with only a high school education) have been trained for three to six months to help teach illiterate adults. By the end of 1961, according to the Ministry of Education, illiteracy for adults and children will be stamped out. Four thousand scholarships are being given to university students. Education has become a religion for Cuba.

Treatment of Offenders

The Revolution has reformed the penal system for juvenile criminals. Nine days after Castro came to power he put Dr. Araujo, a psychiatrist, in charge of revamping the old institution. My wife visited his

"reformatory." Youngsters charged with everything from murder down to petty crimes were living in attractive individual dwellings, twelve to a home, each with foster mother and father. During the day they go to school, take shop or work on the farm, and are given recreation. If they break the rules, they are put in "segregation"—a private room with private toilet, and concrete slabs with square and round openings (rather than bars) so that the youngsters can see the outside world. While under segregation the youth goes to school and shop, but he has no recreation and eats and sleeps by himself. Dr. Araujo, who spent three months in the U. S. gathering material to guide him in this project, releases prisoners when his staff of psychiatrists considers them psychologically rehabilitated, not at the end of a specific sentence. One murderer was released after three months; others will stay for years getting medical and psychological treatment. This Christmas Dr. Araujo gave each "prisoner" a round trip ticket and \$20 to go home for the holidays. He expects at least eighty-five per cent to return. In a similar experiment a few months ago, when he released a selected number to go home, ninety-five per cent came back.

The penal system too has been moderated. One still hears of cases of torture, but it is generally admitted that these are aberrations frowned on by the regime. An American publisher who visited one large prison said he saw the men walking around freely, well-treated.

The Revolution is attending to the health of its people as never before. In the most remote areas I saw new dispensaries, each with a young doctor (usually in his last year of college, because many doctors have defected and there is a considerable shortage) and a trained nurse. In one such dispensary I saw hundreds of cartons of powdered pasteurized milk that were to be distributed to anemic children.

Improved Health Services

The Revolution has built nurseries, beach homes, and innumerable other facilities to improve the well-being of its people. At one fell blow it has stamped out racial discrimination. Approximately one-

third of the population is Negro. Under past practice they were always assigned the menial jobs, often segregated. Even in the unions there were frequently two separate social clubs, one for whites, one for Negroes. Now scores of Negroes are in top positions. The head of the Army is a Negro.

From Militarism to Militia

Finally, the Revolution has completely destroyed the old military system which has plagued Latin America for a century. The new army is something different from the past. I visited a number of army camps. The "soldiers" do some military training, but most of their time is spent building roads, dispensaries and homes, raising pigs, doing farm labor, acting (in the case of female members of the army) as social workers, nurses and administrators. Cuba today has 500,000 people under arms—of which 400,000 are in the militia. But in 1960 it spent less on military expenditures than in 1959, and in 1961 the budget provides for an even smaller figure.

Those who feel that Castro does not have the allegiance of his people must ask themselves this question: There are hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants today who have rifles and submachine guns (many in their own homes). If the regime were unpopular would there not be dozens of little uprisings and rebellions? Of a population of 6.8 million how could so many people be given guns so readily if the government had little support?

Many of us in the United States may call the Cuban Revolution "communist," but what impressed me was its great emphasis on consumer goods, on raising living, health, literacy, cultural standards. Much of what has been done has been done poorly. The new factories that are going up, for instance, lack skilled personnel, adequate managerial help. But the elan of the nation is to "do for the people." "We are not a big nation," a minister told me. "We do not intend to get into the power struggle. We do not need a heavy industry to build guns. All we want is the opportunity to raise living standards, and if we have to postpone erecting a steel mill because that will interfere with our objectives, we will do so." This kind of philosophy contrasts

parly with the Stalinist philosophy which exported food while its people went without, which built factories but few apartment buildings (until Khrushchev changed this recently), and so on. As a matter of fact, the contrast between the Salinist era and the Cuban Revolution is startling. They differ in almost every respect. The Cubans refuse to nationalize small business or small stores. They permit a large sector of agriculture in private hands. They have not, and they say they will not, take over

private savings. They are concentrating on consumer goods industries, with only peripheral interest in basic industry.

I asked a Russian movie director, who was making a documentary on Cuba, how he compared the Cuban with the Russian Revolution. "There is no comparison at all," he said. "Cuba is a democratic country." (He used the word "democratic" in a derogatory sense.) "Ours is a dictatorship of the proletariat, but this is only a bourgeois revolution."

Castro, Communism and U.S. Responsibility

SO MUCH FOR THE positive, and in my opinion, overriding, aspect of the Revolution.

Are there any negative features? Has Cuba been fair in its relations with the U. S.? Is the economy really running well or will it be undermined? And what about the question of civil liberties, free press, communism?

When you speak with opponents of the Castro regime, in and out of Cuba, you are given a bleak picture: Thirty thousand people, including many doctors and professional men have defected. (The Fidelistas say 12,000.) There are 30,000 to 40,000 political prisoners. (The revolutionaries claim 4,000.) There are between 700 and 10,000 anti-government soldiers fighting in the Las Villas. The unions, we are told, have been taken over by communists and are now state-operated. Many people are being executed with only perfunctory trial. Fear is growing, and people are careful whom they speak to. Despite Castro's promise to hold elections none have been held and none seems imminent.

All of this is a disquieting picture. Much of it is true.

The trouble is that it is taken out of context—the context of a dynamic revolution.

We can think back, if we will, to our own American Revolution. Joseph Galloway, a Tory leader, insisted that four-fifths of the colonial people were against the Revolution. Samuel Adams, on the

other side, claimed it was only one-third. Mary and Charles Beard, looking back with historical objectivity, say that only one-third of the nation was with Adams and his friends, one-third was neutral, and one-third hostile.

Excesses in the American Revolution

During the 1776-1783 Revolution thousands of Tories were beaten, ridden out on a rail, tarred and feathered, some killed. And vice-versa: many revolutionaries were also maltreated. One hundred thousand Tories fled to Canada or back to England. (As against the 30,000 who have defected from the Cuban Revolution.) The land of the Tories was confiscated (even as Castro confiscates the holdings of the Batista people and the Americans). Sir William Pepperell's Maine farm, which ran thirty miles along the coast, was taken from him. So were the farms of the Philipse family, the Penns and many others. All told, \$40 million in land—an enormous sum at that time, considering there were only three and a half million people in the country—was seized by the Revolution.

What about the mood of the people in 1783? As the Revolution continued it lost followers, just as Castro is losing followers from the middle and upper classes. The Colonial army of volunteers, at first 90,000, shrank to 30,000. Twenty-five thousand Americans fought in the British army against their own country. George Washington was attacked by the Tory papers in

the same bitter way that Castro is being castigated now.

"Free Elections" & Sedition Law

What about free elections, and political parties, and the free press? The first elections were held five years after the Revolution, and the first "free" elections almost a half century later (except for slaves). You had to own property to vote before that and the selection of Senators and the Electoral College was by the state legislatures, not the people. The first political parties came more than a decade following peace, and Thomas Jefferson, leader of the popular forces, was called a "Democrat," much as Castro is being called a "communist," and with the same bitter connotation. Jefferson's followers were attacked in the streets, and their print shops invaded. Mobs picketed Jefferson's home, just as mobs now picket Castro at the United Nations. The Sedition Law, passed under Adams, prohibited anyone from writing anything inimical to the government.

Even more: In the years from 1783 to 1788 there were rebellions from the left against the Revolution itself. Daniel Shays led one such rebellion in Massachusetts. There were others in Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and elsewhere. At least two states of the thirteen were in danger of being taken over by these leftists.

All of this happened in our country. All of this caused consternation among supporters of our Revolution overseas, and many predicted that "it would not last." But who, in retrospect today, would deny the progressive character of the American Revolution—despite its defects and failings?

Why then do we not judge the Cuban Revolution in the same way? We ought, I feel, to analyze each weakness dispassionately, and we ought to criticize it as friendly partisans, not belligerent opponents.

In considering any such weakness one must always keep in mind the role of the United States. American economic pressure creates difficulties for Cuba that are hard for most people to imagine. Eighty per cent of Cuba's exports are sugar, and most of that went to the U. S. at 2½¢ above the world price. Seventy-five per cent of

Cuba's imports came from the U. S. Stopping this flow of trade puts Cuba at the brink of catastrophe, so that, unless she finds substitute markets elsewhere, tens of thousands of her people will literally reach the point of starvation. I do not feel that this justifies the shrinkage of civil liberties, but the Cubans contend they are in a virtual war situation—and there is much to be said for this argument.

Bungling in the State Department

Some American writers claim that Castro intended from the first to join the Soviet bloc. Aside from the fact that this seems foolhardy and that most responsible Cuban ministers evidently prefer a neutralist position like that of Nasser or Nehru, the story of U.S.-Cuban relations since Castro indicates a most unfortunate coolness on the part of the State Department.

As Batista indicates in his memoirs, the State Department had notions about replacing one dictator with a group of dictators. But the Revolution was too penetrating to be shunted aside. Once Castro came to Havana the Department made a number of overtures, but in the classical style of the past, rather than in a new approach. It was willing, for instance, to continue the military advisors that had trained Batista's army, but this was not what Cuba wanted. Castro had no intention of reviving the corrupt army system where soldiers polished their guns all day while their officers grafted off the economy. Small requests from the U. S. for loans to buy road-building equipment and to exchange chrome for American corn, were turned down.

In April 1959 Castro and some economic advisers came to the United States to explain that they were dead serious about

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 21)

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION →

Normally, **Fellowship's** Peace Information Edition, published on the 1st and 15th of each month, is devoted to current news and comment. In this issue we present instead a photo story for which space could not otherwise have been found. The regular format of this Edition will be resumed with the next issue.

THE YEAR OF EDUCATION is the slogan by which Cuba's regime defines 1961. All kinds of unlikely places, from military barracks to cockfighting arenas, are being converted into classrooms. This school city at Camillo Sienfuegos in Oriente Province will provide 20,000 children from isolated mountain areas with elementary to pre-college education. Factories and co-operative farms are being developed in the surrounding area and farm work will be part of each student's education.

Photos by Earl Wajdyk and Alan Althearn.
Text and layout by Matt Herron.



Althearn

Althearn



MODERN HOUSING is replacing thatched "bohios" and tin shacks. This new five-room dwelling, near Santiago de Cuba, is a kind that may be earned by the investment of a thousand hours of labor in its construction. Rent in the high-rise apartments outside Havana is determined by the tenant's income and the size of his family—not by the apartment.

Observers report a significant rise in industrial output since 1958 and attribute it to the enthusiasm the revolution has won from Cuban workers like the man at lower right.



Althearn

Wajdyk





Wajdyk



Althearn





Althea

THE REVOLUTION reportedly still commands the loyal support of most Cubans. Members of the militia, which gives a military appearance to the island, serve without pay, buy their own uniforms and drill after work. The marathon speeches and public demonstrations—a ubiquitous feature of the Cuban scene—help mobilize the spirits and energy of the young people, and serve as a vital means of communication in a country where illiteracy is still high.

Wajdy



their land reform program. It is significant that the State Department did not invite these men who had made a Revolution, but treated them as second-class diplomats. The President refused to see them. The officials of State who met with them were told that land reform would soon be introduced and that American interests would suffer. The Cuban leaders urged the Department to work out some transition program that would make this step as painless as possible. But as one of them put it to me: "They did not understand what we were talking about, or did not believe us, or did not want to believe us."

Dollars and Dictators

From this point on, the barrage of anti-Castro propaganda began in the U. S. press. It takes no wise man to figure out what was at stake—a billion dollars of U.S. investments. No one can seriously believe that the Department of State was disenchanted because "Castro is a dictator." It has been doing business with dictators consistently since World War II. It has never in that period criticized Chiang Kai-shek because there are no opposition parties in Formosa, or because there is no opposition press, or because the leader of the opposition is now in jail. It is not squeamish about Franco; in fact it has given him more than a billion dollars. It has tolerated and decorated many dictators: Somoza, Perez Jimenez, Syngman Rhee, Menderes, to name just a few. It has formed alliances with many dictatorial countries that also have no elections, no free press, no civil liberties: Pakistan, Thailand, Nicaragua, Haiti, and so on. The grand offensive against Castro by the U.S. cannot be explained, therefore, in terms of humanitarianism or concern for democracy.

When the Cubans finally "intervened" and then nationalized the sugar industry, the United States protested. We wanted payment for those lands quickly and based on our own evaluations. The American corporations had reaped their full measure of profits many times over, and had—for tax purposes—valued their holdings at one-half or one-third what they were now asking. But our government showed no concern for the weak Cuban economy that

could not possibly pay for American property except in long-term bonds.

Almost immediately after agricultural reform in May 1959 we began to hear rumblings about cutting the Cuban sugar quota. That quota had been a *quid pro quo* meant to preserve the American sugar industry and keep Cuba as our sixth-best customer. Since Cuba could produce at almost half the cost that U.S. growers could, the U.S. evolved the quota system, to protect American growers and refiners. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions tons of Cuban sugar were imported at approximately $2\frac{1}{2}\phi$ above the world price. (Given a free market, Cuba would have sold much more to the U.S.) In return, Cuba had to give tariff concessions to the United States, thus assuring American manufacturers of three-quarters of the imports that went into Cuba. Each year under this system Cuba was about \$100 million short in its balance of payments with the U. S. To make up for that deficit it had to sell sugar elsewhere, to earn dollars.

The Russo-Cuban Oil Deal

As one of the measures to protect itself, Cuba ordered some oil from the Soviet Union. It could buy a barrel from Russia for about 60ϕ less than from American companies in Venezuela, thus not only preserving precious dollars but cutting costs. U.S. refining companies in Cuba, however, decided at this point to make their own foreign policy. Russia has sold oil to Brazil and other Latin American countries, but when it sold to Cuba the refiners refused to process it. This was obviously intended as pressure to keep Cuban imports in the American oil orbit. Informed American newspapermen state that the oil companies took their action without consulting the State Department, but that once the step was taken, the Department defended it. Castro had little alternative except to take over the industry; otherwise the whole economy, without oil, would have ground to a halt.

From this point, the situation deteriorated, unchecked. The U.S. cut the sugar quota; Cuba nationalized some more American firms; the U.S. responded by eliminating Cuban sugar entirely; Cuba,

to preserve its small foreign exchange, nationalized the rest of American holdings; the United States imposed an embargo on sales to Cuba; eventually diplomatic relations were ruptured entirely.

Counter-Revolutionists in Miami

As the twin to this diplomatic offensive, the U.S. has either closed its eyes to the activities of the counter-revolution or actively abetted it. Counter-revolutionary planes, based in Florida, have made forays to drop fire bombs and leaflets in Cuba. A chap I know walked into a suspicious bar operated by Cubans in Miami, and after telling them he was a pilot was offered a flying job by the anti-Castro group. Certainly such activities are known to our authorities. American radar, capable of intercepting Russian missiles and planes, obviously has charted the goings and comings of counter-revolutionary aircraft. It stretches the imagination to believe that the U.S. is not aware of the military bases on American and Latin American soil, being used to prepare an invasion.¹ Charges by *The Nation* and other publications that such a base, paid for by the Central Intelligence Agency, is operating in Guatemala, have never been disproved. Even assuming that the CIA is not directly in-

¹Since the above paragraph was written, *Time Magazine* (Jan. 27, 1961, p. 26) took the wraps off the CIA's activities in Florida:

"The top leadership [of the anti-Castro forces] operates in Miami, headquarters of the *Frente*, which hopes to become a sort of supreme command for the harassment of Castro. The *Frente* is making impressive preparations: guerilla training camps in Florida and Guatemala, arms-carrying PT boats that average a trip a week to Cuba, an air group of some 80 flyers who reportedly fly out of the mystery field at Retalhuleu in Guatemala and the inactive U. S. Marine Corps Opa-Locka airbase in Florida. . . .

"So far, the *Frente* has done little fighting itself inside Cuba. The actual sabotage is the work of a group of anti-Communist former Castro followers who call themselves the Revolutionary Movement of the People [M.R.P.] . . .

"The underground Big Two are wide apart on politics and on who gets what funds. The *Frente* apparently gets virtually all the U. S. financial aid to Cuba's underground (estimated to range from \$135,000 monthly to as high as \$500,000 on occasions), and Mr. 'B,' the CIA agent in charge, reportedly has suggested the M.R.P. get help from the *Frente*."

volved in all the anti-Castro activity—which is hard to believe—it is obvious that no stringent measures are taken to halt subversion against another sovereign nation.

In retrospect it seems clear that Castro had no alternative but to turn to the Soviet bloc. American policy, laden with threats, concerned primarily with the investments of United Fruit and American Sugar Refining, rather than the Cuban people, drove him in that direction. It was either Russia or starvation—since no other bloc of nations could replace the three-million-ton sugar market lost in the U.S. The Soviets, for their own reasons, responded to Cuba's request—and virtually saved Cuba from going under. They and the other communist countries agreed to buy four million tons of sugar at 4¢ a pound, paying twenty per cent of the price in dollars. The sum total of Soviet purchases will thus be smaller than what the United States imported, but the dollar payments will permit the regime to buy parts and consumer goods in Canada and Britain.

Soviet aid naturally changes many things inside Cuba. It is not reasonable to expect that a drowning nation will lash out against the very hand that is saving it. America's negative approach to Cuba's problems, coupled with the breaking of economic ties and diplomatic relations on the one hand, and its imperialistic past on the other, makes the average Cuban draw nearer to communism. A young Cuban diplomat, back in Havana for a holiday, told me that last year he was still convinced that Russia's 1956 intervention in Hungary was a criminal act; now he is no longer sure. "The Russians cannot be as bad as you American say, when they are willing to help us." There was no sense arguing with him because it would be a matter of empty words against the solid deeds of the Soviet bloc. And if you were to talk to the average *guajiro* about the lack of freedom in Russia, about Soviet domination of other countries, you would get an even cooler response. We Americans, 177 years after our Revolution, may look upon free speech and free press as our most cherished accomplishments. But the *guajiro* has never enjoyed either, and on

is agenda—long before the four freedoms—is a piece of land to work, year-round employment, a new concrete house, education for his children, medical attention. To him that is the “better tomorrow,” and he judges nations and people insofar as they help him achieve this.

U. S. Policy Bolsters Cuban Reds

The mistakes of American policy and Russia's entry into the breach, have made it possible for the communists to erase their previous unpopularity. After all, the communists did not join Castro's revolution until October 1958. For some time they were aligned with Batista. Many intellectuals in the Fidelista camp remember this, but they are no longer as bitter about it as in the past. When Mikoyan was in Havana in February 1960 he was taunted in Hungary, over the radio and television, to the point of anger. That would not happen today. Most Cubans, particularly the students and the intelligentsia, are still non-communist. So are most of Fidel's ministers, as he is himself. But it would be totally unrealistic, given this set of circumstances, to expect them to take measures today against internal communism.

The communists, therefore, continue to grow. The Popular Socialist Party, which is the official name of the Communist party in Cuba, has about 20,000 members and no doubt could add more if the doors were thrown wide open. The Party predominates in the political police, controls the youth and women's organizations, has a wide base in the unions, and a foothold in the economic organization, INRA. It is weak in most other ministries, has no influence in the national police, minor influence in the army and militia, and has been checkmated in the foreign office by Dr. Raul Roa, a definite non-communist. But its power, it must be conceded, is definitely on the upswing.

Does this mean that communism is on the verge of taking over? It may be, but I doubt it. There is fairly good evidence, first of all, that Khrushchev does not want this to happen. Cuban communism, spurred by Khrushchev, is re-evaluating its role as a “vanguard.” It is being pressured by the Soviet leader to take a secondary place and

let the Fidelistas carry the ball. From Khrushchev's point of view this is sound policy, because he must know that any attempt at outright domination of Cuba would be doomed to failure and would isolate him in Latin America. The story around Havana is that Khrushchev feels Castro has moved too fast. A slower tempo and less hostility to the United States would fit better into his own plans for “competitive co-existence” with the Kennedy Administration.

Maoists vs. Khrushchevists

Furthermore, the communists probably could not take full power if they wanted to. Their party is seriously divided, and might very well have split if there were less external pressures on Cuba. One wing, composed of the older leaders, is Stalinist and Maoist. Another wing, the younger element, is pro-Khrushchev and much more nationalist. At their convention last year, the two wings submerged their differences, but they are still there and the Party is hardly united enough to replace Castro or make a puppet of him. The Khrushchevites do not want to; the Maoists cannot.

Here at home one hears much about Ché Guevara being a secret communist and about Raul Castro's “communist wife.” But informed observers in Havana, including some American writers, believe that Guevara is the major obstacle to further communist advance. He is certainly a leftist, they say, but a Latin American leftist before anything else. In his particular government office few communists have been able to find employment. As for Raul, he is considered strongly anti-American, bitter about the role of the U.S. since the Spanish-American war. But it is folly to consider that these men are anxious to be dominated from Moscow, any more than Tito is, or Nasser, or Kassem.

I spoke with a few Fidelistas who are quite concerned about the recent gains of the communists. They are urging Castro to form his own July 26th Party as a counterweight to communism, on the one hand, and as a channel for discussion on the other. There are more forces than we believe who are cognizant of the dangers.

Viewed close-up, then, the communist

question is not quite so black-and-white as it appears to be here. Up to now the Stalinists have changed the course of the Revolu-

tion only minutely; and they will probably be unable to do much more in the coming period.

The Future: Liberty or Death?

OTHER FEATURES of the Revolution are more disturbing—but again one must put them in context. The right of habeas corpus exists in civil cases, but it is not being adhered to. The arrests of American correspondents for a day or two seem to me to be acts of folly. The continued incarceration of some people for months and years is similarly on the negative side. So is the control of the press. More debate could certainly be permitted without jeopardizing the Revolution.

Yet, being fair to the Fidelistas, they *are* in a virtual war situation. Did not our own government in World War II impose controls on the press, on free speech, on the right to strike? As far as elections are concerned, Castro argues that an unemployed worker or an illiterate is an easy prey for electoral corruption. Before there can be democratic elections, he says, there must be full employment and full literacy.

When I returned from Cuba I was on a popular television program in Chicago, pitted against a leader of the counter-revolution, Major Díaz Lanz. Though he criticized Castro for not holding elections he promised that when his group comes to power it would ballot "in eighteen months." Eighteen months is not so far distant from the two years Castro has been in office; and I suspect that it is much easier to promise an election in that period when you are out of power than to hold it once you get in. But be that as it may, the lack of elections and all the other civil liberty weaknesses of the Castro regime do not necessarily signify that the Revolution is over, or turning sour. It indicates only that it is going through a hard period.

Freedom to Disagree Openly

Furthermore, Cuba is not Russia or China. As curtailed as are Cuban democratic rights there is nothing like the fear

that prevails behind the iron curtain, especially in East Germany, Albania, and China. I was in Russia only a few months before I visited Cuba. In three weeks there I found only six or eight people willing to discuss their government critically. In Cuba I found many dozens. There is nothing like the purge trials, police frame-ups, slave labor camps or other injustices of the Stalinist era. On the contrary, there are instances where enemies of the regime—some who have committed illegal acts—are released after a talk with the authorities. Castro's followers still use persuasion to a degree unheard of in most countries. One writer has called Cuba's an "amiable Revolution." Sitting here in the States, reading our press, it is difficult to visualize it in those terms, but in Havana and the Sierra Maestra it does look that way. I may be wrong, but that is my impression. The government nationalizes industry, but not the small owners. It takes considerable property, but not savings. Every day in the casinos that are left one can see dozens of well-to-do Cubans playing blackjack or roulette. When teachers disagree with the policies of Dr. Armando Hart, the Minister of Education, he visits them and discusses with them. Many argue pointedly with him to his face, and they do it with no reprisals. When the newspaper *Revolucion* is not delivered in Oriente, the editors write a boxed criticism of the Minister of Transportation. Neither the Minister nor the editor of *Revolucion* are on their way out. There just is not that rigid centralism we have learned to associate with Stalinism.

Nor do I think that the issues of civil liberties or communism are definitively resolved. I am reasonably sure that if the U.S. were to relax the economic pressure—say, by buying a million or two tons of sugar, in exchange for American goods—there would be a decided improvement in

With these areas, the press would tolerate more dissent, the communist influence would wane.

Some Specific Criticisms

In and out of Cuba I heard scores of specific criticisms of the Castro regime. Before I left I spoke with a number of counter-revolutionary leaders and at least two newspapermen who were formerly sympathetic to Fidel. In Cuba itself I spoke to literally dozens of erudite men who opposed the regime. I tried to track down each charge to see how significant it was.

I was told, for instance, that workers must now register for jobs with the Minister of Labor. This sounds like state regimentation—until you evaluate the background. Under Batista, when one-third of the labor force was jobless, men could find jobs only if they had a friend in government or the unions. The Revolution decided on another course, eliminating the bureaucrat from such decisions. The Minister of Labor must register the unemployed, and allocate jobs based on: 1) physical disability, 2) the closing of an enterprise, and 3) family income. A disabled worker gets first choice at any available opening. Next in line is someone whose factory or mine was shut down. Finally, the largest number are selected on the basis of the total earnings of their family. A family with no breadwinner gets a job in preference to one that has one breadwinner.

Another charge I heard was that the government was paying farm workers in scrip rather than cash. This was an ancient practice, abolished even under Batista. Workers on *latifundia* were given scrip with which they could buy only at inflated prices at the company stores. Now, I was told, Castro has reintroduced this harsh system. One man told me he had seen a worker trying to exchange a box of cigars, which he had bought with scrip, for some other merchandise that was not available at the People's Store. In each cooperative my wife and I visited we asked about scrip. In none had it been in use; on the contrary the People's Stores showed us records of credit they allotted to workers in their area. When I inquired of a government official he readily conceded that scrip had been used in a

small number of instances. It had been introduced, he said, by overzealous administrators, and wherever the top officialdom had discovered the practice, it had abolished it.

While in the States I heard all kinds of rumors about a terrible shortage of goods. I saw nothing remotely resembling a shortage or even a queue anywhere in Cuba. The stores in Havana, Manzanillo, and elsewhere were well supplied. I've been to Belgrade in 1950 when there was almost nothing to buy. I have seen shortages in Russia, East Germany, Poland—and queues. For the moment, at least, no such condition prevails in Cuba. The government itself tells you it is temporarily short of eggs, but consumption of eggs has gone up forty per cent, while the supply is only twenty per cent higher. And this whole condition will be remedied soon anyway when the dozens of new hatcheries come into full production. There is a shortage of sanitary napkins for women—such items used to be bought from the U.S. The government, however, has started production of this commodity in a new plant of its own.

I was told that "many factories are closing down for lack of raw materials." When I asked a government minister he gave me the name of the three plants that are closed, Owens Illinois, Fab, and one other, and in each instance told me the commodity that was missing.

Soviet Missile Bases in Cuba?

I had read back home that the Russians were building military bases for missiles on Cuban soil. Friends of mine visited the Zapata swamps where one of these bases was supposed to be under construction; all they saw was Japanese technicians clearing the swamps and preparing the way for rice paddies. The government offered me a jeep, a driver, and a pass to go to any spot on the island for six months—to see if I could find a Russian base, either planned or constructed.

I heard in the U.S. that the overwhelming majority of Cubans are openly hostile to the regime. In Havana, among the middle class, there certainly are some such people. There are others who have doubts. A Jewish businessman who had lost his fac-

tory and who had a background as a liberal (his father was active in the Bolshevik Revolution) said that "everything would be all right if the government does not go any further, if it does not confiscate savings. Then I could live out the rest of my days moderately well." He was quick to add that the regime tolerates no anti-Semitism and no anti-Negro feeling, and that the poor people of Cuba are considerably better off than before. In every village I visited it was difficult to find anyone who had doubts about the Revolution.

I had read in the American press about the expulsion of the leader of the electrical workers' union, Fraguinals. This is a complex story, too involved to relate here. My feeling, after discussing it in detail, is that there was probably good reason to remove him from office but that the expulsion was carried out undemocratically in a meeting packed by students and others.

Reform of the Judiciary

While I was in Cuba the papers carried the story about the "reform of the Supreme Court." The old court, of about thirty-two members, was being dissolved and a new court of fifteen was to be appointed. Government sources said the old judiciary was unwieldy and composed of too many members pledged to non-revolutionary philosophies. Seven or eight decisions, involving a mere \$2 to \$3 million dollars, had set dangerous precedents for evaluating confiscated property that would by itself torpedo the Revolution. It would add two hundred per cent to what the regime considered the true value of the holdings. This, I was told, was the reason for the reform. I am unable, based on my own information, to determine whether this argument is valid. Superficially it looks like a transgression of the executive on judicial powers. But one must always remember that this is a revolution, and in revolutions old institutions usually inhibit the new and are replaced.

I was told by many Castro opponents that the amount of money in circulation had doubled from 450 million pesos to 935 million, that there were shortages and inefficiencies everywhere, that the cut in tourism would undermine the economy. Not all

of this, however, is as dire as it sounds. The increased money is due in part to the expansion of the economy and the considerable increase in wages and farm earnings. Where yesterday the upper class paid for its bills by check, today the lower classes paid in cash. The loss of tourism is painful, but Cubans spent as much, or almost as much, in Miami and the United States generally as Americans spent in Havana. Cutting off travel to the States balances out the tourist deficit. The raw material shortages and inefficiencies are very likely true, but are being systematically corrected.

Whatever the weaknesses and shortcomings of the Castro regime, it ought to be compared to the past rather than to an abstract ideal, and it ought to be seen in the context of a revolution threatened on many fronts. The Cuban press is controlled today, but there was no free press under Batista either; most of the sixteen newspapers in Havana were paid secret monthly stipends by the regime. *Habeas corpus* was on the books but was a dead letter. The unions were nominally independent but actually thoroughly controlled. Despite the courts, criminal executions and brutal tortures continued unabated. In no sense can one say that conditions today are worse than before. They may not have improved as much as one might wish, but they are still superior to the past.

Defections of Former Fidelistas

Perhaps the most difficult thing for liberal Americans to reconcile themselves with is the defection of former Fidelista leaders. Why have such men as Manolo Rey, Hubert Matos, Paul Chibas, Dr. Felipe Pazos broken with Castro? These were men who fought with him against Batista and are now either on the other side or inactive. I do not know the reason in each case, but I believe that some felt that the Revolution had gone too far; others were impatient with its shortcomings. The middle class, it must be remembered, was a major support for Castro's effort. Many joined his cause solely because they wanted to end Batista corruption. Others were willing to go further, but not as far as land reform or similar radical measures. The Revolution has outpaced such follow-

It had to in order to survive, but in the hands of some, Castro has subverted their middle-class goals. They are repelled by nationalizations, by the break with the U.S., by the relations with Russia.

Two School Teachers

Some people undoubtedly lost property unfairly—something which Castro's government itself recognizes, and is willing to reverse. Others lacked the idealism to rise above personal interests. In the Riviera Hotel within a matter of ten minutes I met two school teachers. One was bitterly hostile to the regime. Her family had been in the old diplomatic service. She was now working two shifts as a teacher, instead of one before, and earning the same wages. She told me, incidentally, that while her own condition was worse, the poor people were all better off.) The second teacher made the same observations about her work and wages, but she was both happy and eager to work the double shift: "We have to educate the people." She had lost half of her friends, she said—those who had left the country, and her husband, a doctor, had lost half of his lucrative practice. But she was absolutely effusive. "I will work for the Revolution," she said, "to the death. It has given all of us an idealistic cause to serve."

Some ex-Fidelistas are disenchanted because there has been a decline in civil liberties, because the press is controlled, because the communist power is growing. There is certainly validity to such charges, and one can understand why they cause consternation among certain elements. Such men have concluded that the Revolution is over, that it no longer can improve the lot of the masses.

Here, of course, we are dealing with speculation. Are such critics right? No one can answer with certainty. My own feeling is that they have had their noses too close to the grindstone and are exaggerating the dangers.

After a short visit to Cuba I too am con-

cerned about the dangers for the future. But I am concerned with them within the framework of a revolution that is undoubtedly progressive. When and if it stops improving living standards; when and if the political police become totally powerful, standing above the state; when and if a reign of terror ensues—then I will have to take another look.

I have visited sixty-six countries in the last decade. Nowhere, except perhaps in an Israeli kibbutz, have I seen the kind of idealistic enthusiasm that prevails in Cuba today. Young people hardly out of their teens are working around the clock for what they consider to be a Cause. They are so immersed and so dedicated that few have time even to contemplate the Revolution's weaknesses—and that of course is unfortunate. One can hardly believe, however, that such dedication could be generated unless there were a deep humanistic strain within the Revolution itself.

"Cuba Si, Imperialismo No"

I am aware, of course, of the argument that Hitler too was able to evoke enthusiasm for a time. But the Cuban Revolution is the exact opposite of Hitlerism. Cuba is not putting its people to work by preparing for war—it is, as noted above, cutting military expenditures, and its 400,000 militiamen and women are training on their own time and paying for their own uniforms. Cuba is not enriching the large capitalists as did Hitler; it is, in fact, pauperizing them. And Cuba is not appealing to hate or racialism. Even as far as Americans are concerned there is no hatred. The signs read "Cuba Si, Yanquis No," but every Cuban is quick to point out that this refers only to ex-President Eisenhower and the State Department, not individual Americans. In one place the slogan was modified to: "Cuba Si, Yanquis Si, Imperialismo no." The elan in Cuba—so far at least—is humanistic.

How else can we explain its magnetic effect on the youth of Latin America?

Nonviolent Action in France

BY JEAN LASSERRE



SINCE THE SUMMER of 1959 a group of Frenchmen have been engaged in a growing campaign to bring to the attention of their countrymen the scandalous existence of concentration camps for North Africans convicted of no crime but under suspicion of subversion in the Algerian war. There are five such camps in France. Just as, during World War II, many Germans were unaware of the Nazi concentration camps and their horrors, so today most Frenchmen more or less willingly ignore the French camps and act as if there were none. It is to this placidity of conscience that the protest campaign is addressed.

In June 1959, participants at a conference on nonviolence heard that one of these camps had just been opened at Larzac. They quickly formed a committee to aid the needy North African inmates of the camp and began preparations for a demonstration. On June 28, after mass at the Roman Catholic church of La Cavalerie, a solemn procession of sixty people marched in reverent silence to the camp, carrying banners saying "No Concentration Camps." Outside the camp the demonstrators were photographed by police as they filed along the barbed-wire fence. Bystanders seemed not only curious but attentive and sympathetic.

Afterwards, the demonstrators retired to an open field and fasted. They collected money representing the cost of the meals they missed as an offering for the internees.

Later, seven volunteers went to the gate of the camp and requested that they be interned as suspects, like those already inside. The camp authorities were perplexed; their orders did not cover such a contingency. Without orders from their superiors, they could not imprison them. What were they to do? After much discussion, they brought out a fire hose and aimed it at the volunteers, who were now sitting in front of the gate. But the volunteers did not move. The guards, instead of turning on the water, changed their minds and instead seized the demonstrators, herded them into a truck and drove them some distance from the camp, where they were let off.

Meanwhile, the larger group was marching again, and the seven volunteers rejoined it as it reached Millau and headed for the sub-prefecture of the town, where they planned to conduct a brief silent vigil. Here the police stopped them, confiscated their banners and ordered them to disperse. When this failed, the police formed a cordon to block their way. Undaunted, the sixty demonstrators sat down on the pavement and waited. Presently the police commandant and other officials appeared and implored them to disperse. "We are on the same side of the barrier," he told them, but he would not let them go to the sub-prefecture for five minutes of silence. He was adamant, and so were the demonstrators. At last the latter dispersed of their own accord, at about 7 P.M. Even without the

nned vigil at the sub-prefecture, the whole town was aware of their protest.

The pacifists see the internment camps not only as a mistake but as a sin calling for an act of public repentance. In this spirit they began a nine-day fast at La Valerrie on July 24, on an open field rented from a local peasant. As four of them were about to pitch tents on the field, police arrived and interrogated them. Within two hours, the whole village knew they were there. That afternoon, they paid a visit to the mayor.

"You are undesirable," he said. "How long do you propose to stay?"

"Nine days," they told him.

"Well," he replied, "I'm telling you that you won't be here that long."

A police captain had a talk with the peasant on whose land they were camping, and the latter evicted them the next morning. Gendarmes watched them as they left to go to mass. At the church, the curé permitted the campers to install themselves in the choir vestry until the evening, when his bishop's secretary phoned and ordered them to leave. The campers waited for the police to come and eject them from the church, but nothing happened and they slept peacefully.

The next day, Sunday, the mayor repented to the extent of offering them a cell in an old tower, long used as a jail for criminals and drunkards. The four pacifists accepted, moved in and attached a sign, "Fasters' Camp," to the door, much to the chagrin of the prefect. Many of the townspeople were indignant at the treatment given the fasters, and they thronged to hear them explain their cause and the meaning of nonviolence. By submitting to unjust treatment, the pacifists were able to surmount all political barriers and communicate with the consciences of the people.

Nonviolent Militants at Pont-d'Ain

In April 1960 a retreat and conference on nonviolence was held near Lyons, with both Catholics and Protestants joining together in an atmosphere of liberty and joyful consecration that brought to the minds of many the spirit of the primitive church. It was at this meeting that the Nonviolent Militants was formed, and on the day after

the end of the retreat, thirty volunteers gathered at Pont-d'Ain to prepare themselves for a continuous vigil at the nearby camp at Thol, where they planned to enter and intern themselves. They followed Gandhi's methods in announcing their intention to the authorities. After mass, a procession of more than 200 demonstrators marched toward the camp. The police were waiting for them and blocked the entrance with a cordon of gendarmes.

As at Larzac, the core group of volunteers sat down by the roadside, whereupon the police picked up each one bodily, loaded them in trucks and transported them to a deserted road about four miles away. Undaunted, these young apprentices in nonviolence made their way with joyous faces back to the church in Pont-d'Ain. When it became clear to the police that the volunteers intended to seek admittance to the camp once more, they grabbed them—more roughly this time—and shoved them into a large army truck, while the remaining nearly two hundred demonstrators and a number of curious bystanders looked on. This time the volunteers were dropped twelve miles from Pont-d'Ain. But the next morning they arrived again at the camp, were again herded into trucks and now driven more than fifty miles, whereupon each member of the group was deposited one at a time, several miles apart.

Vincennes: A New Tactic

Now the demonstrators turned to the concentration camp at Vincennes, where much the same procedure was repeated, with some variations. Jo Pyronnet, professor of philosophy at Montpellier, who had taken a year's leave of absence to devote himself to the struggle against the concentration camps, formed six teams of five volunteers each. A participant describes the tactics used on April 21:

"At ten o'clock the first team presented itself. There was a brief discussion with the sentries, and a quarter of an hour later the answer came in the form of a police van, where our friends were rapidly hustled in the direction of the commissariat. That was, with slight variations, the procedure for all six teams. The police were very correct. In the evening, they put us in a large

truck which took us to the *mairie*, where we were put in the cells."

This phase of the campaign lasted until May, reaching its peak on April 30 when some eight hundred people joined with the volunteers in a mass demonstration at Vincennes. In addition to Jo Pyronnet, leadership has been provided by such well-known pacifists as Lanza del Vasto, Jean Goss and Henri Roser.

The New Phase: Civil Action

In June, volunteers of Nonviolent Civil Action, a new group formed for a different approach to the struggle, spent a month in the shanty town at Nanterre, sharing the daily life and hardships of Algerian "suspects" there. Living in tents, they busied themselves with sanitation chores and otherwise tried to help make the Algerians' lives a little more comfortable. They were there when police swooped down in periodic raids and tried to get themselves arrested along with the "suspects" who were taken off to concentration camps. They were witness to several investigations and to the considerable havoc wrought by the police on these occasions, and tried to appeal to the latter, obtaining some mitigation of the rough methods used by them here.

They gave free French lessons to Muslims, and conducted a week-long public fast as a way of sharing in the suffering the Algerians have experienced at the hands of the French, and also to protest against terroristic acts committed by the Algerians against the French. In an appeal, they stated: "Crimes undermine the Algerian cause, just as repression undermines the French cause. Blood calls out for blood. Help us to demonstrate that generosity and justice may prove more effective than repression."

On September 10, Monsignor Ancel, the

auxiliary bishop of Lyon, published a declaration approving nonviolent demonstrations: "The aim of this action is laudable since it seeks to do away with injustice and it goes without saying that the means that are used are not only permissible but of all the means used against injustice, they are certainly the most like those preached in the Gospel."

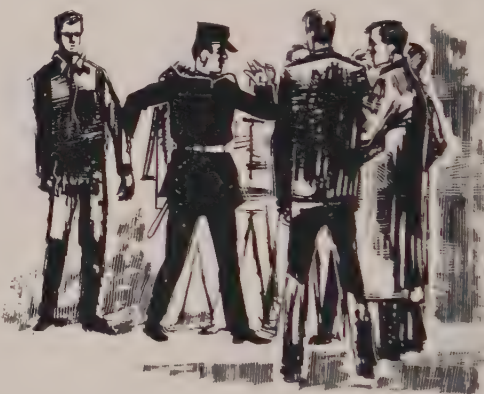
Many young people find the Algerian war morally repugnant and would like to engage in positive action instead of the senseless killing. A new campaign, inaugurated by Nonviolent Civil Action in September, is seeking to establish an alternative civilian service for these young people and is urging the French government to make legal provisions for it. Until now, the

choice for many has been military service or voluntary exile, sometimes in secret alliance with FLN, the Algerian nationalist movement.

To show what could be done, ten volunteers went to Terrasson on October 14. This is a village in Dordogne which is notorious for its floods. Three of the volunteers were war resisters.

One of the latter, Pierre Boisgontier, was a paratrooper who had doffed his uniform and quit his post to take part in the Terrasson camp. On October 20 a policeman came to arrest him. The other volunteers showed their solidarity by offering to be arrested with him, and when this failed they linked arms, forming a nonviolent cordon to prevent police from taking the prisoner aboard a train, which consequently left without them. Finally reinforcements were called in and all the volunteers were arrested. They were detained for 24 hours except Boisgontier, who was sent to Mourmelon prison.

After two weeks the Terrasson camp was terminated and a new camp was set up at Chasay-Gagny, in Seine-et-Oise. Here a dozen volunteers worked in a "cité d'urg



ce" built by Abbé Pierre in 1954. They
ished some much-needed work on the
eets of this town, more than half of
hose inhabitants are North Africans. Some
ening courses for North Africans were
ven in several Paris suburbs, and week-
ed work camps were established in Lyon,
ijon, Lille, Toucoing, Nancy, Grenoble
d Annecy.

On Saturday, November 5, about sixty
ersons conducted a silent demonstration
r about fifteen minutes outside the Min-
try of Justice in the Place Vendôme, with
osters supporting Boisgontier and demand-
g a civilian peace service in Algeria. An-
her such demonstration, on November 19,
olved twice as many demonstrators.
his action was repeated on November 26
nd December 3, and similar demonstra-
ons were carried on in other cities, includ-
g Lyon, Rouen, Grenoble and Marseilles.

Fifteen "Jack Muirs"

On December 15, one of the volunteers,
ack Muir, was arrested for failing to re-
port for the draft. Eleven others, led by Jo

Pyronnet, chained themselves together to
the iron gates of the garden of the Musée de
Cluny. Together with three comrades who
were handing out leaflets—two of them girls
—they were arrested, not without difficulty,
and imprisoned. When asked for their
names, they replied, "Jack Muir," and
were consequently found guilty of contempt
of court and sent him to prison.

On December 21, Jacques Tinel, one of
the leaders of Nonviolent Civil Action, ob-
tained an interview with Mr. Michelet, the
Minister of Justice. This shows how com-
mitted personal action can give consider-
able weight to a movement that is numer-
ically of little importance. There are now
seven draft refusers.

Although in January the government
closed the Chasay-Gagny camp, the work of
Nonviolent Civil Action goes on in other
ways. New volunteers come forward to re-
place those who have been imprisoned, and
a few of the fourteen imprisoned "Jack
Muir" have been released. Meanwhile, the
concentration camps are still in existence,
the Algerian war drags on, and much re-
mains to be done.

Translated and adapted from the French by Paul Peabody



A STONE'S THROW

"And he withdrew from them about a stone's throw . . ." (Luke 22:41)

Go forward, black child,
As far as the school door,
About a stone's throw
A step, one more.
Beyond the trajectory of flung hate
Firmly tread,
Till the large marble arches
Swing over your head.
See, the door shrinks to child-size;
How narrow the gate!
The pillars diminish.
Outside where they wait,
The scoffers and those who
A child would waylay,
Where the angry mob gathers,
How broad is the way!

—EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE

Red Decades in Focus



A REVIEW-ARTICLE
BY A. J. MUSTE

COMMUNISM AND THE CHURCHES by Ralph Lord Roy. Harcourt, Brace 1960. 495 pp., \$7.50.

IN 1953 MR. ROY'S *Apostles of Discord* was published. It dealt mainly with extreme right-wing groups and their disruptive influence in Protestantism and did it in such a clear, comprehensive and well-documented fashion as to establish its authority in that particular field. He has now done a similar masterful job on the impact—actual or alleged—of the Communist Party, Communist fronts, individual Communists or Communist frontiers and related agencies or agents on the churches, Protestant, Roman Catholic and Orthodox, in this country since World War I and up to 1959. It is a volume in the Fund for the Republic's very valuable series on *Communism in American Life*.

If you want to know about the attitudes and activities of Harry F. Ward, Jack McMichael, William Howard Melish, Stephen Fritchman, Kirby Page, Sherwood Eddy, Jerome Davis, Bishop Oxnam, J. B. Matthews, Claude Williams, William B. Spofford, Joseph F. Fletcher, Daniel Poling and many others, you will find a documented account in this book. Let the reader not jump to the conclusion that this is a list of C.P. members or frontiers! It is virtually certain, as Roy brings out, that with one possible exception, none of them ever belonged to the C.P. At least one, Kirby Page,

was an inveterate opponent of the C.P. and anything that might be in any measure under C.P. influence. As for those who took some part in what are commonly considered fronts, Roy brings out that there were extreme variations in the degree of involvement, the motivations, and the objectivity of such participants. Daniel Poling appears in the list because in 1946 when Joseph Stalin was still generally thought of in this country as our "good old ally," Poling reviewed a book that was highly laudatory of Stalin, described him as patient and slow to act in the purges which Khrushchev himself later denounced, and as the liberator of the peoples of Eastern Europe. In his review, Dr. Poling described the book as "the most challenging and at the same time objective study on Russia that has yet appeared." Several years later, Roy points out, Poling confessed he had not read the book before giving it a strong endorsement.

Of special interest to FOR members and friends and critics is Roy's account of the career of J. B. Matthews, one-time FOR national secretary, whose services were terminated by the FOR Council when in the 1930s he was strongly attracted to Communist ideas and urged that the FOR condone violence in class war. He was, incidentally, supported in that stand by Reinhold Niebuhr, who was then undergoing the change in his thinking which led him to abandon the pacifist stand he had held for

ome years as a prominent member of FOR. It is perhaps appropriate to mention here that I was out of the FOR at that time and not involved in this episode. A few years later, when I was back in FOR, I met J. B. Roy on a train. We had a long talk in the course of which he said that Nevin Sayre and other FOR leaders who had opposed his stand on class war were right and that his position had prevailed it would have filled the Fellowship. J. B. had already, alas, swung to another extreme and, as Roy's book shows, has been one of the most relentless and reprehensible promoters of the falsehood that the churches are largely infiltrated by C. P. members or sympathizers. On the role of the FOR in general, Roy, in commenting on an insinuation by Herbert Philbrick that FOR might be infiltrated, scoffs at the idea and points out that a few groups have been more alert to the Communists than the FOR. Its executive secretary, John M. Swomley Jr., has strenuously and intelligently fought Communist influence for many years."

Roy lists four general conclusions at the end of his study. 1) The C.P. in America never did undertake a full-scale campaign to infiltrate the churches. 2) The number of clergy who actually joined the C.P. over a period of 40 years may have been as low as 40 and in any case not higher than 200, if there were that many. The majority may have been Negroes who had no ideological attachment to Marxism-Leninism. "There is no credible evidence that such men as Harry F. Ward and William B. Spofford Sr. . . . became Communists. . . . The Wards and Spoffords thought of themselves not as Communists at all, but as loyal followers of Jesus and the prophets." 3) Several thousand names of clergy have appeared on front-group literature. Many were not aware of the nature of the group they joined and soon quit. Some were politically innocent, not distinguishing between good will toward individuals and support of dubious political positions. Many honestly believed in working in the organizations in which the C.P. might be influential, especially in the atmosphere of the Thirties, because nobody else seemed to be working as effectively for peace and against fascism. A small group, Roy con-



music to our ears

(and yours too!)

FOR staff members are unaccustomed to seeing their efforts result in full-page publicity, even of a grudging nature. Imagine our surprise to find that the nation's leading hi-fi magazine, *High Fidelity*, singled out Fellowship Records' *THE PEACEABLE KINGDOM** for its featured review in the February issue, ranking it above all the records issued by the leading companies.

High Fidelity assigned our disk to one of the country's top reviewers, Alfred Frankenstein. Here are some choice quotes: "... The performance is of the finest and the recording is quite good. . . Records like this are sometimes difficult to find in the shops, and since this one is so fine and so important, it would be a great pity if it were overlooking."

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cludes, were "persistent fellow-travelers—who have worked with the Communists over the years and have willingly been used by the Communists as camouflage." Take all of them together and they make up a tiny percentage of the U. S. clergy. 4) "Today Communist influence in the American churches is near the zero mark."

I understand that there are those who question the objectivity of this book. If they are to make a case, they will have to do it by citing chapter and verse, not by general charges or innuendo.

I do have a serious concern that this important and reliable study, as I regard it, of past developments and experiences should be used judiciously in our consideration of relations with Communists (and Communist regimes abroad) and especially with former Communists and fellow-travelers, "whose name is Legion." For pacifists, Christian, Jewish or non-religious, conservative or radical, there can be no shifting in the basic principles by which we judge violence, tyranny, war and war preparation. Love for all our fellows and faith in "that of God" in each of them does not dictate political collaboration with those whose goals or methods are basically divergent from ours.

On the other hand, we *are* living in the Sixties and not in the Thirties. It is my conviction that there are very large numbers of former C. P. members and fellow-travelers who do not indeed want to become "red-baiters," paid or unpaid, but who are *not* looking for another front organization in which to work for peace, for example, but something that has more relevance to the American situation and more promise. The influence of the C. P. in the U. S. is near zero today and is not likely to count for anything to speak of for some time. Communism in the various Communist states today is, at least in some respects, not what it was under Stalin; it is not a static or uniform phenomenon. Above all, we all live under the black shadow of the Bomb. That must make some difference somehow. I am aware that to say these things is to point to problems rather than to answer them, but I feel sure that we should be sensitive to such factors as I have mentioned.

pamphlet reviews

• *Understanding Cuba* by Herbert L. Matthews and Hiram Hilty. 26 pp., 30¢. Order from: American Friends Service Committee, 160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia 2, Penna.

Neither of the authors of this pamphlet can be said to be "soft" on communism, nor guileless tourists capable of being taken in by propaganda. Hiram Hilty is professor of Spanish at Guilford College, N. C., and formerly schoolteacher in Cuba. In the summer of 1960 he spent two weeks in Castro's Cuba under AFSC auspices. The gist of his impressionistic report is that, on balance, poor people in Cuba never had it so good, although businessmen are having a tough time. Herbert L. Matthews, Latin-American editor of *The New York Times*, concedes that Castro is increasingly turning to the Communists for help, but lays the blame for this upon obtuse U. S. policies spurred by a hostile U. S. press. Reports of revolutionary executions have been grossly exaggerated by the latter. Of Castro personally, Matthews says: "His technique may be demagogic, but his love of people, just people, is genuine." Castro's marathon speeches are "effective, clearly reasoned, interesting and well organized." Matthews calls him "the perfect example of Max Weber's charismatic leader" and suggests that he is the most significant figure to appear in Latin America since Simon Bolivar. This pamphlet is no substitute for a full-scale study of the Cuban revolution, but it is an excellent device for getting one's bearings on this complex and controversial development. A sample of the contrasts: Hilty reports that while the Castro government is highly militarized and there seems to be no prospect of democratic elections, "there is a strong moral character to this Utopia," and "many Protestants serve in the Revolutionary government, several ministers among them." Americans cannot in good conscience shrug off these complexities or condone a U. S. policy that fails to acknowledge U. S. responsibility for them. Nor can they afford to remain misinformed about what is happening in Cuba today.



• *Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation*, ed. by Viola W. Bernard. 48 pp., 50¢. Order from: Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 104 East 25th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

With the exception of the concluding section, this study does not confine itself to the specific problems arising from the Supreme Court's 1953 decision for integrated schools, but uses

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HARPER & BROTHERS, N. Y. 16

this issue as a pivot for a more broadly applicable examination of racial myths and prejudices and how they work and, in the longest of four chapters, of the complex dynamics of attitude changes. In 1957 the same group published *Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation—Report #37* (available at \$1). The present pamphlet is an updated and simplified version of that report, making available to the intelligent layman the findings of comprehensive and thoroughly objective research by a committee of thirteen psychiatrists. The moral issues involved in the struggle for racial equality are not discussed in the report, although its specific findings confirm not only the validity of racial integration but also tacitly the non-violent methods used in Montgomery and in the sit-ins to implement it. The goal would be

made more swiftly and smoothly attainable if this pamphlet were made required reading for all people in communities confronting racial problems of any kind. A key to its general approach is suggested by its discussion of racial fears related to sex: the emphasis is not on debunking but frankly confronting and disposing of such fears by careful, yet not lengthy explanation.



• *Prejudiced—How Do People Get That Way?* by William Van Til. 31 pp., 25¢. Order from: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y.

To most FELLOWSHIP readers, Dr. Van Til's presentation will offer little that is new or startling. If you have read any of the numerous books on the subject, you are already familiar with the contents of this pamphlet. However, if you are a high school student and have not got the facts yet, this pamphlet is for you. And if you are a teacher, you may find it especially welcome, since the ADL provides a Teachers' Supplement with the pamphlet, and a Resource Unit on Prejudice and Discrimination—designed for teachers—is available on request.

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Author, **ETHAN ARBOW**, Plumtree, N. C.

THAT MEN MAY LIVE...in peace together

FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a religious organization based on the belief that love, such as that seen pre-eminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances. Members of the FOR seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship. Although members do not bind themselves to an exact form of words,

- ☞ They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- ☞ They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
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All persons, regardless of race, sex or religious affiliation, who conscientiously support this affirmation of purpose, are invited to become members of the Fellowship. Membership is not conditional upon contributions of money. However, contributions are invited and are deductible for income tax purposes. For a free copy of the full Statement of Purpose (with membership application), write to Box 271, Nyack, New York.

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A FEW WEEKS AGO, the Fellowship of Reconciliation published a half-page advertisement in *The New York Times*, urging that the United States undertake an errand of mercy. China, the advertisement said, is experiencing the worst famine in a century. Readers were urged to join in a campaign to persuade our government to surmount the political obstacles that stand between the American and the Chinese people, and ship food to these millions of hungry people. We have the food, stored in warehouses—several billion dollars worth of it.

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Sponsors of the FOR "Food-for-China" campaign include John Raitt, Norman Thomas, E. Stanley Jones, Roger N. Baldwin, Dorothy Kenyon, Isidor Hoffman, Wilmer J. Kitchen, Edwin T. Dahlberg and others. Support for the idea has also been expressed by Billy Graham, Senator Hubert Humphrey, Brock Chisholm, *The Christian Century*, *Life* and others.

ACT NOW! Order a quantity of grain bags. Tell your friends. Write for reprints of the FOR's *New York Times* advertisement and a copy of *Famine Facts*, giving further information about the famine in China today.

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